

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al.

-VS-

ARAKI, Sadao, et al.

Basic Suggestions for the Emergency by ARAKI sadao,
January 20th, 1934.

20th January, 1934

His Excellency the Premier,
Viscount Minoru SAITO.

Your Excellency,

It is a matter of great congratulation for the Empire that Your Excellency and the members of the Cabinet are all in good health and are performing the important mission of being advisors to the Imperial Throne in order to cope with the present critical situation of our country.

At this grave moment I fell ill a fact, which fills me with trepidation concerning His Majesty; it also makes me ashamed of myself before Your Excellency and to the members of the Cabinet who are rendering important service as advisors to the Imperial Throne. I further feel ashamed of myself before all the people of this country.

Please accept my heartfelt gratitude for the valuable consideration that Your Excellency has extended to me while I was confined to bed. Fortunately, I am recovering day by day, and since yesterday I am permitted to meet a limited number of visitors. At present I am not conscious of any unusual symptoms. In fact, I feel I am greatly recovering my physical strength every day; but the doctor in attendance has advised me to take another four weeks rest cure, much to my disappointment.

In view of the present state of affairs, I am not inclined to idle my time away, more so when I consider the importance of the coming session of the Diet where several important military problems, including the Military Budget Bill as the most conspicuous issue, are to be debated. This very important Diet Session which deals with the outstanding problems of the day am I unable to attend --unable, at least, with the present condition of my health, for the former half of the session of the House of Representatives when the deliberation on the Budget Bill is to take place; I feel I am derelicting my duty as an advisor to the Throne

on one hand, and as a Cabinet Minister to cope with the momentous nature of the coming Diet on the other, and so while appreciating the sympathetic consideration extended to me by Your Excellency, by members of the Cabinet, by the members of the Diet and others, I am not disposed to stay in my post under the circumstances, and, furthermore, I consider that the most proper way for me to deal with the important session of the Diet under the present emergency situation would be to recommend a suitable person to take over my post and let him fulfil the task of advisor to the Imperial Throne. In these circumstances, I now solicit that Your Excellency will kindly accept my resignation and will submit the same to the Throne.

In tendering my resignation, I feel exceedingly sorry for Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and Home Minister YAMAMOTO, who, despite their advanced ages and not too good health, exert their utmost day and night to achieve their mission as Ministers of State. I offer my most profound apology to these gentlemen;

Next I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to those who, since the ITUKAI Cabinet, have been my fellow Cabinet members for the past two years and also to those who have been with me in the present cabinet for the past one and half years; all of these gentlemen have kindly supported me through the various difficult problems that I was confronted with during those periods. I sincerely pray for their very good health and their successful activities in the future.

The present situation of Japan, both internally and externally, may appear in different ways to those who look at it from different angles, but if I may be allowed to tender my own appreciation, I firmly believe that this is not an emergency situation from a mere phraseological point of view, but a truly critical juncture at which the fate of our Empire is solely at stake. Opinions seem to differ among the general public as to whether or not a crisis in Japan will result, but real important affairs of a State are apt to arise without even a day's notice and my humble opinion is that a nation must be ready at all times, morally and materially, to avoid any possible portentous trouble and to secure a basis for her further development. This precaution, I may add, has been necessary throughout all ages.

From this viewpoint, I am not inclined to believe that we can afford to take a rose-coloured view of things. In fact, the potential danger of a nation is often made an actual one when people try to avoid tackling difficult problems and seek to comfort themselves by taking a light view of matters. Ill-informed though I am, this is how I feel when I trace back the history of the varied fortune of races.

I do not believe it a far-fetched opinion or an intentionally created pessimism if we forecast unseen difficulties in the immediate future of our country. On the contrary, I trust this is the very moment when national unity is most urgently required to bring about the prosperity of the Empire.

To cope with this important situation, I have in fact already expressed my views on various occasions, including that of the Five Minister Conference. However, as I regard it as a question of vital importance, I take the liberty of making my further suggestion, though it may partially overlap what I said before, under a separate cover, and solicit Your Excellency's valuable consideration over the future of Japan and that you kindly put it into practice.

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people are filled with misgivings concerning the attitude of the military authorities toward international problems. To this I may say that our attitude has been consistent and rigid in the past, and will remain so in the future, vis-a-vis those whose ideology and views on national polity are not reconcilable with the character of the national polity of our Empire. However, with my poor knowledge of international relations and also in an endeavour to maintain as close contact as possible with the relative branches of government authorities, I have been exerting what little service I could toward promoting our position among the powers and their confidence in us, explaining to them wherever possible the principle of the foundation of our Empire in connection with the national policies and principles of the present. My intention in doing so has been to seek either implicitly or explicitly for friends among the powers so that the Empire may not be reduced to a state of international isolation. I hope that Your Excellency will render your assistance in realizing closer relations between the foreign and military authorities, with whose cooperation, Japan may maintain her present superior position among the international communities, and her rightful claim may be duly complied with.

I am afraid I have not expressed myself quite clearly, on account of my being confined to bed, but I hope Your Excellency will kindly surmise what I intended to say, and will adopt my humble suggestions.

There are some more matters that I should very much like to allude to, but I have already exhausted myself and am not able to continue any further. Please accept my apology for having had to dictate this letter to another person instead of writing it myself.

Before I close, I wish to tender again my profound gratitude to Your Excellency and the members of the Cabinet, who have given me the most valuable guidance and direction in various matters. My sincere wish is that Your Excellency will be very careful of your health and will accomplish your great mission as adviser to the Imperial Throne.

I shall have the pleasure of expressing further views of mine when I had the honour of personally seeing you upon recovery from my illness.

Kindly give my best regards to all the members of Your Excellency's Cabinet.

I remain, Your Excellency,

Your obedient servant

Sgd
Sadao ARAKI

C E R T I F I C A T E

- (A) A letter of Sadao ARAKI dated 20th January 1934, addressed to His Excellency the Premier Viscount Minoru SAITO.
- (B) Top Secret No. 20 - Basic Suggestions for Emergency Policy.

This is to certify that (A) mentioned in the above is a copy of a letter which War Minister ARAKI dictated to me, who was then his secretary, on January 20th when he was confined to bed. When this letter was dictated to me, I had it transcribed by a clerk and together with a copy of (B) mentioned in the above, which was completed in October of the previous year, it was handed over to Lieutenant-General Heisuke YANAGAWA, Vice-Minister of War, who, as an emissary of War Minister ARAKI presented them to Premier SAITO. I further certify that these are the true copies of the above-mentioned documents and that I have kept them in my hands since then until today.

Dated on August 1st, 1946

At No. 1252, 5-chome, Nishi Nakanobu,
Ebara-ku, T OKYO.

Signed

Masami MAEDA

It is a matter of urgency at present to inspire the people with the moral sense of our Empire and to reveal at home and abroad the essential qualities of its culture by means of perfecting its national power based on nation wide harmony, and moreover, to aim at strengthening the recognition of our national structure and furthering the peace and security of our national life internally, and to expedite the establishment of peace in East Asia and the Pacific externally.

Due to the international crises marking the 10th year of Showa (1935) and to the general tendency toward renovation running high among the jurisdictional courts and also among other circles, several unfavourable social trends are expected to be revealed in the proceedings of trials and in other aspects of social life, especially in public speeches, etc., and these are liable to produce general unrest among the people and among rural communities in particular.

Combined with the disturbance in educational circles and the unrest in the labor field will be aggravated and there is a fear that some, if not all of the army and navy personnel may be influenced by these unfavourable conditions and be led into restlessness.

The general situation at present seems to be in apparent tranquility, but it is my opinion that it would be impossible for the government to tide over the real difficult situation, both internal and external, unless means are devised completely to dispel the prevailing unrest in public feeling.

Now that these tendencies have gathered strength discord and unrest refuse to be driven away by any ordinary or mediocre measures.

I really think the affairs of state of Japan should be a matter of religious service. The fundamental aims should be to enable the people to live in peace & contentment by observing such virtues as due worship of gods, intimacy between the sovereign and his subjects and perfect harmony between the high and the low. Therefore, we should make it our noble cause to act in observance of various virtues peculiar to our Empire and to reject both Communism and Fascism. Government means adjustment of tendencies as well; a tendency should be adjusted after it is taken into consideration, and then directed so that it may take a proper course. Natural tendencies do not always take reasonable courses but sometimes go astray; therefore those in a position to govern must devote themselves to assisting in the Emperor's rule, in conformity with nature and by transcending reason, so as to bring about the development of our national power and let the people live a peaceful life. This is the true way to govern.

Since these tendencies have already gathered strength and the crisis of our country is impending, we must, acting upon the fundamental principle mentioned above, be prompt in judging where this trend will lead us to. We must sacrifice ourselves in order to render allegiance and assistance to the Emperor in compliance with the source of our government which aims at worship of gods, intimacy between the sovereign and his subjects and perfect harmony between the high and the low. Since appeal to His Majesty's benevolence and then to transgress His Imperial virtues, would constitute an act certainly deserving our inevitable death, we must petition His Majesty to grant amnesty to our brethren for their past crimes. Thus we may purify this bewildered phase of life and drive the offenders to devote themselves to a new

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way of living in expiation of their sin. Hereby we can effect a complete change of public feeling, and furthermore, without scruple, we must carry out a large scale reform in diverse fields of government. For this purpose we shall have to request the Imperial decision so that the people may be informed on the boundless august plan, and shall have to adjust this tendency which is apt to be distorted, on this the eve of the national crisis and thereby consolidate the basis of our Empire which is destined to be everlasting and noble. Thus establishing the basis of development of our national power, we must thoroughly discharge at this juncture, our great duty of being of assistance to the Imperial Throne.

According to the purport stated above, I hereby suggest the following policy.

Policy

Petitioning the Emperor to exercise the Imperial prerogative in accordance with the provisions of Article XVI of the Constitution, we must, first of all, refresh public feeling and stir up popular sentiment by allowing our people to enjoy universally the boundless Imperial favours; whereby, next, we must urge the people to enter into the general spiritual mobilization to start our life all over.

We must make clear at home and abroad the great cause of our Empire and must strive with all the power of the nation, the power of unity, for the materialization and enforcement of various rules of government which are based on this great cause.

Thus we make it our fundamental principle to lay the basis of the prosperity of our Empire, by internally emphasizing the immutability of our national structure and securing the safety and soundness of our national life, and by externally securing the peace in East Asia and the Pacific.

Acting on the foregoing policy, the following provisions must be entered.

1. The Revival of Public Feeling. We must revive public feeling, and with bright liveliness, by expelling all the past gloomy mud-flings, we shall lead the people to national unity. In order to attain this effect we should, according to the Imperial prerogative provided for in Article XVI of the Constitution, petition the Emperor for a general amnesty for various political criminals and other offenders in connection with them, which ought to be properly restricted to a certain limit in compliance with His Majesty's most benign will, and with due consideration of offences committed, their respective characters and their future activities, regardless of their past whether they belonged to the right wing or to the left. And at the same time, by petitioning the Emperor to issue an Imperial rescript, we must unify public feeling in the sole cause of assistance of the Imperial scheme and thus put the people's mind at rest; moreover we should lead the people, and together, devote ourselves to the cause of assistance and loyalty, and hereby pave the way to national revival and prosperity.

This article is to be put into operation first of all as the fundamental principle for the enforcement of our national policy. By such means we can awaken the whole national from the gloomy atmosphere, in which our people indulged in conventionalism and were unable to effect

any innovation, holding on to selfishness and cliquism throughout their respective classes. Thus, in consequence, we can effect a revival of public feeling and make a clean sweep of all the past grievances, whereby the people would be made conscious of the keynote upon which State affairs should be conducted.

I fully admit that it is with great trepidation that we humbly petition the Emperor to exercise the Imperial prerogative. However, judging from the origin of our national structure, we deem this the sole and unique way to reveal the truth, good and beauty of our national character by which we are enabled to save the situation and display our national virtue.

2. Emergency Policies.

The coming three years or so shall be the first term of urgency and importance. In this term we must establish national policies, adaptable to circumstances at home and abroad, upon inspiring the moral sense of our Empire, and then put in practice various institutions urgent and necessary to the occasion. Administration of diverse affairs should be conducted and ruled along the lines of this policy, and readjustment of urgent State affairs should be achieved with promptitude, while comprehensive regulation is required in general administration.

In order to attain this effect, the general principles demanding prompt enforcement are as follows:

A. Spiritual Restoration

In obedience to the Imperial order, we urge the people to put it in to daily practice. We also encourage their positive display of good morals and manners agreeable to our national condition, and especially with the cultivation of the character of statesmanship as well as of the virtues of countesy and faith, we must cultivate not only the fullness of our national power but also awe and respect of other nations.

B. International Policies

By judging the international situation, we shall determine our policies towards the political situation in the world, among which especially those towards Soviet Russia, U.S.A. and China are ranking. For this purpose the following must be decided upon, while preparations must be made for the invitation, at a suitable opportunity, of a Peace Conference among powers to establish a basis for peace in East Asia and the Pacific.

- a. Our policy towards Soviet Russia mainly in respect of the international relations in thought.
- b. Our policies towards China, U.S.A. and the League of Nations mainly in respect of The Manchurian Problems.
- c. Our policies towards Great Britain and U.S.A. mainly in respect of the London Disarmament Conference.
- d. Our policies towards Great Britain, U.S.A. and China mainly in respect of the international economic relation.

C. Home Policies.

Based upon the required policies to cope with the above-mentioned situations both at home and abroad, and in order that we may accord with them, both spiritually and materially, we must carry out necessary innovations and reforms to effect the regulations of

central and local administrations as well as to promote the prosperity of our rural communities and to stabilize our middle-class, all of which are partly the most urgent steps, to say nothing of general reforms in politics, economics, finance, education and armament. Thus, by taking such steps, we should establish the basis for general national spiritual mobilization and encourage its progress.

I have given in the foregoing only an outline of my suggested emergency policies. It is requested that the competent branches of government authorities should lay down their practical plans in conformity with the above, and those of importance should be passed by Cabinet channels, while those of less importance should be enforced forthwith.

Def Doc. 247A-A

not used

證 明 書

- A、荒木貞夫ヨリ内閣總理大臣子爵齋藤實口下宛
昭和九年一月二十日附書信
- B、樞密第貳拾號緊急施策基礎案

右貳通ノ書面中ノAハ昭和九年一月廿日當時病氣
源養中ナリシ荒木陸相ガ病褥ニ於テ口通シ陸軍大
臣秘書官タリシ拙者ニ於テ筆記シ更ニ之ヲ登記ニ
命シテ清書セシメ前年十月中ニ作成セラレ居タル
Bト共ニ陸軍次官柳川平助中將使者トシテ携行シ
齋藤總理大臣ニ提出セラレタルモノノ控ヘニシテ
拙者ニ於テ保存シタルモノナリ
依テ之ヲ證明ス

昭和二十一年八月一日

東京都荏原區西中延五ノ一二五二

前 田 正 實 印

Leaf Dec. 20/0-A

荒木第

號證ノA

肅啓 時局重大ノ折柄總理大臣閣下始メ各閣僚
愈々神勇健弱ノ大任ニ彼爲當候段邦家ノタメ
慶福此ノ事ニ御座候 然ルニ此秋ニ際シ小生病
搏ニ臥スルニ至リ候事 上御一人ニ對シ奉リ恐
懼ニ堪ヘサルノミナラス輔弼ノ重責ニ任セラル
ル由下始メ各閣僚並ニ一般同僚ニ對シ中諍無之
頃愧此ノ事ニ御座候病中ハ種々御高配ヲ忝シ難
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並ニ議會其他各方面ヨリノ御同情有之候トモ誠
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2

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關係ニ對シテハ元ヨリ現内閣ノ班ニ列シ一年有
半相共ニ困難問ニ就キ御後援被下候各關係ニ對
シ茲ニ深ク謝意ヲ表シ併セテ將來ノ御徳ヲ祈
リ上候

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Key Dec 20/0-A

Def. Sec. 21/c-A

ル所ニ其危機ヲ孕ムモノニテ古今ノ歴史ハ明ニ
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軍部ニ對シ世上一部ニ於テ危惧ノ誤解有之ヤニ
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モノニ對シテハ固ヨリ確固タル國體信念ノ上ニ
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作不及國際情勢ヲ大觀シ關係當局ト緊密ナル親
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カ國體精神ヲ立國ノ本義現下ノ國是等ニ就テ時
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ヲ致シタル次第 今後益々外務軍部ノ密接ナル
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我正當ナル主張ノ貫徹ニ努力セラレシム事ヲ希フ

4

次第ニ有之候

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被下度候終ニ臨ミ今日迄ノ御懇篤ナル御指導ニ

ツキ總理以下各關係ニ對シ深ク御禮申上候 時

節柄折角御自重精勵ノ大任ヲ盡サレシ事切ニ祈

上候

晝外健康恢復ノ上拜見萬縁可申上候

何卒關係各位へ可然御禮賜度願上候

敬 白

昭和九年一月廿日

荒 木 貞 夫

内閣總理大臣子爵齋藤實閣下

王 宗 下

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極秘 第貳拾號

緊急施策基礎案

我國今日ノ急務ハ皇國ノ道念ヲ振興シ其平和的國
力ノ充實ヲ以テ其文化ノ本質ヲ中外ニ顯現シ内國
體ノ認識ト民生ノ安寧ヲ強化シ外東亞及太平洋ノ
平和確立ヲ促進スルニアリ

然ルニ我國ノ諸政ハ舊シク硬塞シ内外ノ不安及危
局ノ逼迫ハ想像ノ外ニアリ昭和十年ヲ創スル國際
危機及現時司法權ノ下ニアル各種裁判並ニ般ニ根リ
來レル革新氣分ヲ中心トシテ今後裁判ノ進行及
世相ニ現ハル、諸事象就中言論其他好マシカラサ
ル諸種ノ風潮ニヨリ倍ニ農村及民間處士ノ間ニ一
層人心ノ波動ヲ生シ易ク教育界ノ動搖勞働界ノ不
安等之ニ伴ヒテ其度ヲ高ムヘク陸海軍將兵中亦動
モスレハ之等ニ誘發セラレテ不安ニ陷ルノ虞絶無
ト得シ得サル狀態ニアリ即チ今日表面小康ヲ得タ
ル現アルモ今ニシテ先ツ之等人心ノ不安ヲ一掃ス
ルニアラサレハ到底内外ニ漲ル現難局ヲ克服スル
コト不可能ナルモノアリ而シテ今ヤ之等ハ時代
ノ勢トナリ尋常一樣ノ手段ヲ以テハ此不和不安ヲ
削シ難キモノアルヲ認ム

熱ヲ性ルニ我國ノ政治ハ祭事也敬神親民上下一體

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各其所ヲ得シメ給フヲ本トス 共産ヲ斥ケ「フア
ツシヨ」ヲ非トシ自ラ皇國ノ諸徳ニ從ツテ行クヲ
大義ト爲ス所以ナリ 又政治ハ國勢ナリ勢ヲ察シ
之ヲ調節シ而シテ之ヲ適正ニ導カサルヘカラス勢
ノ趨ク所必スシモ理ニ據ラスシテ動ク故ニ爲政者
ハ克ク理ヲ越エテ自然ニ從ツテ之ヲ治メ遂ニ國勢
伸張萬民安生ノ道ヲ布カセ給フ如ク奉公ノ誠ヲ盡
サハルヘカラス之レ即チ政道也

今ヤ既ニ滔々勢ヲ爲シ危機逼迫ヲ來セル今日ニ至
ツテハ以上ノ大本ニ基ツキ速ニ此勢ノ趨ク所ヲ洞
察シ敬神親民上下一徳ノ我大政ノ淵源ヲ体シ匪躬
ノ愼誠ト扶翼ノ臣節ヲ奉ケ敢テ邪惡ヲ死ノ罪ヲ犯
シ一ニ至仁至慈ノ大御心ヲ拜シテ過去ニ於ケル同
胞非違ノ恩赦ヲ仰キ此昆迷セル世相ヲ清淨シ更ニ
職身積罪ノ道ニ精進セシメ茲ニ人心ヲ一新シ其一
新ノ人心ヲ促シテ猶豫ナク諸政ノ一大更革ヲ行ヒ
宏大無邊ノ幸福ヲ國民ノ上ニ光被シ給フ如ク聖斷
ヲ仰キ以テ機ニ先チテ歪曲セル此勢ヲ調整シ悠遠
高明ナル皇國ノ基ヲ鞏メ茲ニ國勢伸張ノ根柢ヲ樹
テ以テ此危局ニ對スル弱弱ノ大任ヲ完フセサルヘ
カラス

以上ノ趣旨ニヨリ左ノ方針ヲ定ム

方針

憲法第十六條大權ノ發動ヲ奏請シ先ツ通ク聖恩ノ

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無窮ヲ皇國臣民ノ上ニ光被シ茲ニ人心ヲ清新ニシ
志氣ヲ作興ス 次ニ之ヲ促シテ更生一新ノ精神的
總動員ヲ爲シ皇國ノ大義ヲ内外ニ展ヘ舉國一致其
總和的動力ヲ此大義ニ盡ケル諸政ノ具現實施ニ集
中シ内國體ノ不動ト民生ノ安康トヲ強化シ外東亞
及太平洋ノ平和ヲ確保シ以テ皇國興隆ノ基ヲ樹ツ
ルヲ根本方針トス
以上ノ方針ニ基キ左ノ各項ヲ實施ス
一 人心一新

人心ヲ一新シ過去一切ノ陰鬱ナル泥試合ヲ捨て
明朗ナル生氣ヲ以テ舉國一致ニ導ク之カ爲憲法
第十六條ノ大權ニ基ツキ各種政治的犯罪者並ニ
之ニ關聯スル犯罪者等ニ對シテハ其左右ヲ問ハ
ス 其内容及本人ノ性質將來ノ動向ヲ顧慮シ至
上大仁ノ大御心ニ照シ宜キニ從ツテ其範圍ヲ定
メ一律恩赦ヲ仰キ同時ニ大詔ノ後發ヲ奏謝シ皇
國扶翼ノ一義ヲ以テ人心ノ勵起ヲ一ニシ其安定
ヲ得シメ更ニ之ヲ率キテ共ニ扶翼忠誠ノ道ニ精
進シ更生興隆ノ道ヲ啓ク

此一條ハ國策實施ノ根本要義トシテ第一ニ實
施スヘキモノナリ之ニ依リ舊套ヲ脱シ得ス又
新路ヲ開キ得ス自我ノ庸所ニ局限シ各層ヲ通
シテ黨同異伐ニ終始スル陰慘ナル空氣ヨリ朝
野ヲ覺醒セシメテ人心ヲ一新シ更ニ過去一切

4

ノ愛護ヲ一掃シ茲ニ自給運用ノ差額ヲ意圖セ
シム
此種大體ノ變動ヲ計ヒ尋ルヘ蓋々恐慌ノ至リ
ナルモ我兩國ノ本願ニ照シ赤子愛護ノ徳ヲ仰
ギ尋ルコソ此際上下應々其徳ヲ一ニスル身固
ノ畏敬美ヲ顯現シ時局ヲ匡救スル唯一無二ノ
口徳ヲ發揮スルノ道タルヘシ

ニ 緊急施設

爾後概テ三年ヲ以テ緊急重長ノ第一期トナシ先
ツ身固並念ノ振興ヲ基礎トシ且ツ内外ノ情勢ニ
適應スル口策ヲ着立シ必長ナル緊急ノ諸側面ヲ
布キ臨取ラ此口策ニ集中統一シ緊要箇所ノ整備
ヲ急ギ且ツ一般政策ヲ肅正ス
之カ爲メ取敢ス言及ラ長スル大綱左ノ如シ

(一) 精神の復興

國體ヲ奉崇シ之カ日信實行化ヲ管屬ス 又我
兩國ニ通フ善風美俗ノ發揚ヲ奨励シ特
ニ道義信義ト云ニ基テノ氣節ヲ涵養シテ内刀
ノ充實ト共ニ口條國ノ長教ヲ招徠セシム

(二) 國際政策

國際情勢ヲ列國シテ特ニ歐亞細亞米國支方針ヲ
根本トシ世界政局ニ與スル方針ヲ決定ス之カ
爲

イ、思想の國際關係ヲ中心トシテノ歐亞細亞
政策

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